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A MUHAMMEDAN BOOK ON AUGURY IN HEBREW CHARACTERS.

AMONG the various forms of augury in Muhammedan folklore there is one which consists in foretelling the future by means of prophetic names, and is for this reason called *Kur'at al-anbiyā*, "prophetic augury." It belongs to that extensive and manifold branch of divination by means of "lots¹," which has been widely practised from ancient times down almost to our own age, and has been for many centuries highly popular both with Muhammedans, Christians, and Jews². The "prophetic augury," which was closely connected with the divination by means of words³, is but of rare occurrence. Flügel, in his lengthy essay on Muhammedan "lot books⁴," makes no mention of this special form of augury⁵. Of the books of this kind which have come to my notice—I have not made any special search for them—I can only mention the following: two Berlin MSS. of the nineteenth century, quite different from one another, carefully described by Ahlwardt (*Catalogue*, Nos. 4238 and 4239); a MS. of the seventeenth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris⁶; a part of a mis-

¹ Hebrew נורל; Arabic *sahm* or *kidh*, both originally meaning "arrow," comp. Ezek. xxi. 26, also 1 Sam. xx. 20.

² On the Muhammedans see Flügel, *Die Loosbücher der Muhammedaner in Berichte der königl. sächsischen Akademie d. Wissensch., philolog.-histor. Classe*, 1861, pp. 27-74; on the Christians, Sotzmann, *Serapeum*, 1850 and 1851; on the Jews, Steinschneider in *Hebr. Bibl.*, VI (1863), pp. 120 sq.; the same, *Jew. Liter.*, § 22, p. 202, and Blau in *Jew. Enc.*, s. v. "Lots."

³ See Ahlwardt, *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in Berlin*, vol. III, p. 562 c.

⁴ See note 2.

⁵ Though the Dresden MS. mentioned on p. 53, *ibid.*, may belong to this species.

⁶ de Slane, *Catalogue*, No. 2715, apparently the only one of this kind among the 111 MSS. (Nos. 2630-2741) dealing with augury. I know the MS. only from the few words devoted to it in the *Catalogue*.

cellaneous volume of the seventeenth century in the British Museum¹; and a small pamphlet of sixteen pages, 16mo, lithographed in Cairo in 1397 H. (1880 C. E.)². The arrangement of these books consists in presenting at the beginning a square divided into fields, each bearing the name of a prophet, and giving on the subsequent pages an explanation of each name, and the practical issues suggested by it. The person desirous to know the future throws, with eyes closed, a finger at the square, thus touching one of the names, and then looks up the explanation³. These books all agree in one point: in beginning with Adam and ending with Muhammed, who, according to a Muhammedan dogma, was "the seal (i.e. the last) of the prophets"⁴. But within this range the greatest variety seems to prevail. We can still put up with a name like Alexander the Great, who, according to many Muhammedan theologians, was a prophet⁵. But to find the mythical Arabic philosopher Loqmân among the Biblical prophets, or the twelve tribes registered as one prophetic name, is somewhat surprising. In other points also, e.g. in the number and arrangement of the prophetic names, the choice of the names themselves, the explanations given to each name, these books widely

¹ Sloan. 2650, henceforward designated as Brit. Mus. —The *Catalogue* (1871), p. 466 b devotes only a few words to this piece.—The MS. is written most ignorantly. The copyist very probably did not understand the contents. Thus at the beginning of each explanation he invariably has قال "he said" instead of فأل "the omen of." The twelve tribes (which he writes اشباط) are to him actually one person ("Said the tribes, peace upon him!" fol. 83 b). A few more specimens of the same kind will be given in the course of the introduction.

² Henceforward designated as "Cairo." The title of this interesting booklet is هذا كتاب غاية الاشياء المسمى بقرعة الانبياء للنبي دانيال "This is the Book of the end of all things which is called 'the prophetic augury' composed by the prophet Daniel." On Daniel as the author of books of this kind, see Steinschneider, *Jew. Literature*, p. 202 and Blau in *Jew. Enc.*, VIII, p. 188 a below.—Mr. Ellis of the British Museum kindly called my attention to this booklet.

³ See the directions given in Cairo at the beginning and Ahlwardt, *Catalogue*, III, 562 b.

⁴ Koran xxxiii. 40.

⁵ See note 40 to translation.

differ from each other. Thus the Berlin MS., No. 4238, gives 5×7 fields with thirty-three prophetic names (two fields being occupied by indifferent words). Berlin MS., No. 4239, offers twenty-five names, one name sometimes being written over two fields. Brit. Mus. has 4×6 fields with twenty-four names, and Cairo 5×7 fields with thirty-two names (three fields in the last line being empty). The difference in arrangement and choice of names may best be seen from a comparison of the Brit. Mus. MS. with the Cairo pamphlet. Brit. Mus. contains, often in a most curious spelling and vocalization, the following names, in the following order: Adam, Jonah, Jacob, Job, David, Loqmân, Shu'eib (Jethro), Lot, Isaac (إزحاق), Yahya (يحيى, John), Moses (مُوسَى), Abraham, Ismael, Alexander, Ṣâlih, Seth, Jesus, Elijah, Joseph, Daniel, al-Khadhir, Aron, the Tribes (الشباط), Muhammed. Cairo presents quite a different list: Adam, Idrîs (Henoch), Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Yahya, Jonah, David, Solomo, Moses, Aron, Shu'eib, Job, Hûd ('Eber), al-Khadhir, Elisha, Zakariyya¹, Ṣâlih, Du'l-Kifl (of doubtful identity), Saul, Jeremiah, Joshua, Isaiah (شعيا), Alexander, the Tribes (correctly اسباط), Jesus, Loqmân, Ezra, Daniel, Muhammed. The latter list makes a crude attempt at arranging the names chronologically, but it only remains an attempt². The interpretations assigned to each name vary considerably in the various books, but they all betray their connexion with the legendary history of the prophet in question, either taken from the Koran, which is often quoted, or from tradition. Thus, in the Cairo pamphlet, e.g., the warning against women is connected with the names of Adam, Joseph, David and John. Partnership is auspicious in the lot of Aron, but unfavourable in the lots of Jacob (Laban!), Joshua³, and al-Khadhir (Brit. Mus.)⁴. Travelling is recommended in the lots of Joseph, al-Khadhir (also

¹ See note 39 to translation.

² The Berlin MS. No. 4239 gives at the beginning Adam, Noah, Abraham, and at the end Moses, Aron, Jesus, Muhammed (Ahlwardt, *ibid.*).

³ See note 28 to translation.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Brit. Mus.)¹, and Muhammed (Hijra!—also Brit. Mus. and Berlin MS., No. 4238).

Among the Jews the books on “lots” are but very few when compared with those of Muhammedans and Christians². Yet there is, at least, one very interesting specimen of “prophetic augury” which, different as it is in many points from this Muhammedan form of divination, offers striking parallels to the *Kur'at al-anbiyā*. The specimen referred to is contained in several MSS. stored in various libraries, and I gather the following data from the descriptions of Johannes Henricus Maius³, Steinschneider⁴ and Neubauer⁵. The arrangement is quite different from that in the books described above. Here the prophetic names are associated with the twelve signs of the Zodiac, five names being assigned to each sign, so that the total number of names amounts to sixty⁶. Under each name is given a series of answers containing forecasts for the future. Of these the divining person has to pick out the one applying to the question on which he is told to decide before starting. Among the names are Adam, Henoah, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Aron, Moses, Joshua, but also Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Barak, Gideon⁷. The first name is naturally Adam; the last is Ezra⁸, who, according to a very ancient Rabbinical tradition⁹, is identical with Malachi, the last of the prophets¹⁰. In the introduction¹¹ to his augury pamphlet the author gives various directions how to draw the lots, and strongly emphasizes the religious

¹ See note 34 to translation.

² Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.*, VI, 120 below.—Comp. Ben-Jacob, אורי הספרים, Nos. 90–91.

³ *Bibliothecae Uffenbachianae Mssae partes septem priores*, Halle, 1720, pp. 122 sq. ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. of the Bodleian Library*, I. No. 970, 11.

⁶ Maius, l. c., p. 123, LXX is to be corrected into LX.—Neubauer, *op. cit.*, No. 970, 12 mentions another treatise with ninety answers.

⁷ Maius, *op. cit.*

⁸ Neubauer, *op. cit.*

⁹ *Talmud B.*, Tractat *Megillah*, 15 a; also mentioned by Jerome.

¹⁰ The writers of the Jewish-Arabic period sometimes apply the Muhammedan term “seal of the prophets” to Malachi.

¹¹ Communicated by Steinschneider, l. c.

character of these proceedings. He boldly applies to his system of divination the verse Amos iii. 7, and quotes a regular prayer, beginning with רב"שע and ending with בנ"י מלך העולם, to be said before casting the lots¹.

This specimen is apparently of later date. It contains passages translated into Hebrew-German², and betrays no sign whatever of immediate Arabic influence. It may be safely assumed that the treatise in question was modelled after one of the Christian books on lots, which in turn were fashioned after Muhammedan models³.

By far the oldest specimen of "prophetic augury," not only among Jews, but also, as far as I can see, among Muhammedans, is represented by the fragment to which the present article is devoted. It comes from the Genizah in Cairo, where it was acquired by Mr. David Sassoon, now of London. I have to acknowledge my hearty thanks to Mr. Sassoon, who, though himself an Arabic scholar, placed this interesting MS. at my disposal. The fragment consists of the two middle leaves of a quire written on both sides, twenty-two to twenty-four lines on each page, 20.5 × 15.2 cm., paper. The MS. is torn in many places, and often faded, both circumstances sometimes rendering the reading extremely difficult. The language is Arabic, and the writing is in a firm, ancient, square hand. The Rev. G. Margoliouth, of the British Museum, who was good enough to give me information on this point, is of the opinion that both writing and paper point to the thirteenth century, though a still earlier date is *possible*. It is not impossible, in his opinion, that the fragment was written by a Karaitic hand. At all events, the early origin of the MS. is a matter of certainty.

The orthography and grammar of the fragment present the same characteristics which are to be found in other

¹ Religious prescriptions and prayers of a similar nature are also given in the Muhammedan books, comp. Flügel, op. cit., pp. 49 and 59, and the Cairo pamphlet at the beginning.

² Neubauer, op. cit.

³ Flügel, op. cit., at the beginning.

Jewish-Arabic writings, and especially in Genizah documents. But it also contains certain peculiar features, which are partly found in the other books of divination, and may be safely attributed to the vulgar character of this kind of literature. The diacritical points are usually missing, with the exception of **ض**, which has always the dot, and stands both for **ض** and **ظ**. **ج** is twice represented by **ا** (1^{ro}, ll. 3, 20). **ז** twice by **ו** (1^{ro}, l. 5, and 1^{vo}, l. 19). **خ** once by **ז** (1^{vo}, l. 18 אלכזר, but l. 17 אלכזר).—Tashdîd is once denoted by two dots inside the letter (1^{ro}, l. 20 ואלתוּדה).—Very peculiar is the way in which the vowels are marked. The only case of a vowel sign is 2^{ro}, l. 21 ווה, where *u* is represented, as also in other Jewish-Arabic MSS., by a tiny stroke above the letter. Short vowels are often followed by *matres lectionis*, while the latter are just as often missing after long vowels. Thus we find 2^{ro}, l. 16 אִזְ=אִיר (but 1^{vo}, l. 5, correctly אִר).—1^{vo}, l. 3 זִרְוּגִל=יראונד. (incor- rectly instead of the genitive) 2^{ro}, l. 11 פאני, incorrectly for פִּיאַן, 2^{ro}, l. 4, and always סַ=סָ before the imperfect (see later). On the other hand, we meet 2^{ro}, l. 12 אִלָּ=אֵן. —1^{ro}, l. 20 אִלְחִיָּה=الحياة. —2^{ro}, l. 12 יחִי=יחי. —2^{ro}, l. 5 נָדִי=נדה. —2^{ro}, l. 16. As in most Jewish-Arabic MSS., the ending of the feminine has no dots in the absolute, while it is written **ת** in the construct, comp. 1^{ro}, l. 14 סַעַת=ساعة. —1^{ro}, l. 15 גַּת=جَته. —1^{vo}, l. 19 מַקְרַמַת=مقدمة. The case endings are naturally neglected, but it is somewhat annoying to find the **א** as a genitive ending, e.g. 2^{ro}, l. 2 גִּיר עִסִּירָא, 2^{ro}, l. 4 טִיב נַפְסָא, 1^{ro}, l. 8 וְקִר עֵינָא (the same phrase with exactly the same spelling also occurring in one of the Berlin MSS. and in the Cairo pamphlet, see note 10 to translation). Almost comical is the use of **אֵן**, written as a separate word, to denote the Nutation in the Nominative and Genitive: 2^{ro}, l. 6 מוֹזַע=מוֹזַע אֵן, 2^{ro}, l. 3 סַפֵּר=סַפֵּר אֵן, 2^{vo}, l. 2 פִּרְגֵּ=פִּרְגֵּ אֵן, 1^{ro}, l. 7 (I distinctly remember having met the same spelling in one of the Arabic lot books). Of similar character-

istics I may mention the following: **פִּתְּוָא = פִּתְּוָא** and **פִּתְּוָא = פִּתְּוָא** 1^o, ll. 10 and 11.—**תִּיִּס = תִּיִּס** 1^o, l. 1 (occurs also in other Jewish-Arabic MSS.).—**ס** before the imperfect form is always spelled **ס** and written as a separate word, 1^o, l. 21; 1^o, l. 14; 2^o, ll. 15, 17; 2^o, l. 7.—**אֱלֹהִים** always = **אֱלֹהִים** 1^o, 10; 1^o, 9, 14, 15, **אֱלֹהִים = אֱלֹהִים** 1^o ll. 2, 13; 2^o, l. 8, 2^o, l. 3.—**אֱנִי** once for **النبي**, 2^o, l. 10, often in vulgar Jewish-Arabic texts, but here probably a mere *lapsus calami*. Whether **סַעְאָרָה** twice instead of **אֱלִסְעָאָרָה** (1^o, l. 17 and 2^o, l. 5) is only accidental is not quite clear to me. A vulgar pronunciation seems to be **אִיְהוּ** and **יִאִיְהוּ** instead of **أَيُّهَا** and **يَا أَيُّهَا** 1^o, l. 21; 2^o, l. 7; 2^o, l. 6. Finally I would like to mention the peculiar use of **ו** as a **ב** in the phrase **פִּתְּוָא** 1^o, l. 8 and 2^o, l. 4 and **וִיטִי עֵיִשׁ** 1^o, l. 10.

The contents of our MS. mark it at once as a fragment of a book on "prophetic augury" of the kind described in the beginning of this article. The form is quite the same, with the only exception that the interpretations of the names are numbered. Our fragment contains the end of No. 16, perhaps the prophet Hûd (see note 2 to translation), No. 17 Idrîs-Henoch, No. 18 Joshua, No. 19 Al-Khadhir, No. 20 Zacharias, No. 21 his son Yahya (John) and the beginning of No. 22 which is most probably the lot of Job (see note 52 to translation). The contents are purely Muhammedan and show no sign whatever of Jewish influence. All the prophets mentioned belong to the sacred history of Islam and the interpretations are everywhere in accord with the Muhammedan conception of these holy men. The names are all to be found in the Cairo pamphlet, while the Brit. Mus. MS. contains three of them (Job, Yahya and al-Khadhir). The Koran is often quoted (1^o, l. 5; 2^o, ll. 11-12, 16; 2^o, l. 6) and the quotations are in Muhammedan fashion introduced by "the words of the Book" (2^o, l. 16; 2^o, l. 20), "he (Allah) said" (1^o, l. 5; 2^o, l. 6) and "the words of the Book revealed through the tongue of the Prophet sent (as apostle)" (2^o, ll. 11, 12).

The quotations are all, without exception, incorrect, and similar passages are confounded. This is not surprising in this kind of literature, of which neither the authors nor certainly the copyists belonged to the class of Ḥuffāz (those who know the Koran by heart), whose bearers most probably were people of low intellectual standing. Only one quotation (I^{vo}, ll. 5-6, see note 22 to translation) which perverts the whole meaning of the Koran passage, appears to me to transgress the limits of the ignorance of a Muhammedan in these matters, and may perhaps be due to a misunderstanding on the part of the Jewish copyist. In all other matters, in the arrangement, language and phraseology, our MS. bears strong resemblance to kindred Muhammedan writings. The interpretations of the prophetic names materially differ from those of the other books, just as the latter do between each other. But also in this respect the Cairo pamphlet offers striking parallels. It is evident that our Hebrew MS. is nothing but a copy made by a Jew from a Muhammedan original.

In the latter circumstance lies the chief interest of our fragment, at least for the readers of this REVIEW. For it is almost impossible to imagine that our MS. is merely the product of a literary caprice. The man who copied this MS.—and the writing suggests a professional scribe—must have worked for a public who could read the Hebrew characters, i. e. for Jews. The intimate character of the relations between Jews and Muhammedans is a fact long since known to the students of the Jewish-Arabic period. “One must not lose sight of the fact that the union between Jews and Muslims went much wider and deeper than the solidarity of political interests . . . The Jews not only spoke Arabic, they also thought and felt Arabic to a degree which closely approaches the dogmatic barrier between Judaism and Islam¹.” But the more the treasures of the Genizah, which are often much more characteristic of

¹ I. Friedlaender, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides* (Frankfurt a-M., 1902), p. xi.

the spirit of the *people* than the official Jewish-Arabic literature, come to light, the more it appears that that barrier was sometimes trespassed¹, and it certainly means to leave that barrier a long way behind when the future is foretold by means of distinctly Muhammedan prophets and the Koran is quoted as the Book revealed through the tongue of the prophet sent as apostle. It is true, the intimacy between different religions is infinitely greater in the sombre realm of religious superstition than in the well-defined dominions of religious belief. One only need read, as regarding Jews, the chapters on superstition in Güdemann's well-known work. Yet the superstitions of the German and Italian Jews never leave the ground of dogmatic Judaism, and where they do so, it is only in consequence of a misunderstanding or deception². The

¹ Thus, for instance, a Genizah fragment in Oxford (*Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS.*, vol. II (1906), No. 2745, 26) gives a piece of the writings of Hallāj (with the formula (read ענה) רַצִּי אֱלֹהִים שֶׁהוּא "May Allah be pleased with him" after his name), the famous mystic who claimed to be an incarnation of the Divine Being and found numerous believers even among the orthodox. He was executed in 922 c. E. (see Tabari, *Annales*, III, 2289 and Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, 70 ff. and p. 130, note 26).—I am told by the Rev. G. Margoliouth of the British Museum that this library also possesses some Genizah fragments, unclassified at present, written in Hebrew characters but of purely Muhammedan contents. There is no doubt that a search after this kind of writings will reveal many more than known at present.—I would quote the Genizah fragment published in this REVIEW (XV, 77–8, comp. also *Jew. Enc.*, s. v. *Koran*, VII, 560 b), were I not convinced that אֱלֹהִים there is only a Hebraism for מָשִׁיחַ. In the Bodleian Genizah fragment, No. 2745, 24 (*Catalogue*, II, p. 169, a history of Moses attributed to Moses ibn Ezra) אֱלֹהִים (plural אֱלֹהִימוֹת) has distinctly the meaning of "Biblical passage or verse" (most probably also in fragment No. 2668, 26). I may mention in passing, since it has some bearing on the question dealt with in this article, that in the fragment No. 2745, 24, referred to above, the Messiah is styled אֱלֹהִים מְרִיבֵי "the Rising, the Expected," the official title of the Shiitic Mahdi!

² Thus when Hocus Pocus is invoked as a Divine name or when Mary and the Paraclete are quoted in a Hebrew magical formula and the like, it is only, as Güdemann rightly explains, because these formulae which were (sometimes purposely) transliterated into Hebrew characters by Christians were misunderstood by the Jews. The Jews sometimes played

author of our fragment, however, must have understood the text that he was copying and yet he did not shrink from doing it and from presenting it to a Jewish public. In this respect our MS. may claim the distinction of being a most peculiar and almost unique specimen of the fusion of Islam with Judaism and of representing in spite of its fragmentary condition a piece of Jewish Culturgeschichte.

TEXT.

1 recto.
 אר[אך פי קלכך חאנה ואנת בהא מעני ואליהא
 אן הודא ידבר פי אמרך תדביר
 ויקרר עליך תקדיר ויצאריך מצארה והו יראונך
 ויבאתי לך מבחלת אלתעלב והו ילתקט מנך אלכלאם
 5 כמא ילתקט אלטיר אלטעאם ואנת צאחב ארן תצן כל
 מא קיל לך חק וקד צאק צדרך פי אלמוצע אלרי אנת
 פיה חא[יל] קד חממת בנקלה אלי מוצע אן אכר גיר
 הדא פאבשר וטיב נפסא וקר עינא בפרח ופרג ק[ר]
 אתאך וסהלת מלבתך וא[ק]בל בכתך וסער נגמ[ך]
 10 וטיב עיש ואל- אעלם ואחכם

fi

סהם אדריס והו סהם אלעלו ואלרפעה ואראך א[יהו]
 אלסאיל אנסאן מעך מערפה צאחב עקל ואדב
 עארף באלאמור וארא ל[ך ר] פעה וסרור ועלו וסעת
 15 רוק ורחל ואקבאל יציבך [?] מן ג[?] חת סלטאן יאתי אליך
 רגל דו שאן תנוא בסאפ . . לך דו קדר ומקראר
 ותנאל מן קבלה כיר ויטיב [נפ]סך וינמו כתיר מעיש
 פיכנפך כלק ויצרף ענך בדלך אלאפאת אלכבאר ודלך
 ערב אלכלאם מלאק אללסאן תאכר אמורך באלרפק
 20 ואלתוזה ולכן אראך פי אמר[ך] צאק [צ]דרך וצגרת
 מנה נפסך וסא יציבך מנה משקה וענא תם תסהל לך
 אלאמור ותעלו עלי ערוך פאטלב חאנתך פאנהא מקציה

i verso.

ולא תאים ואן טאלת מטאלבתך פאצבר פא . . פ . .
פרח ופרג אן שאל²

יח

סהם יושע והו סהם אלעין ואלפכר ואלדין ואלעלו ואלצפר
5 ואלסרור ואלגור ואלכרם מא סמעת מא קאל אד קאל לאפתה
קד אתאנא נדנא ולקד לקינא מן ספרנא כצבא ואראך
איהו אלאנסאן פי אמר לים תריד גירה וא[נת] סהרת
[פ]יה לילך וטלטל פיה נהארך ואראך פ[י] עציאים אלאמור
[קד] לקית שדה גיר אנך נאני בארן אל² וארא עדו
10 [סא יו]ל ענך פאתוקא פאנך תכפא אמרה ולכן
[א]רא לך ספרא יכון עליך עציים אלכרכה ויכון לך
[אחפ]ן ממא תומלה וינאלך כירא פאתוקא אלשרכה
פאן לים לך פיהא בכת ולכן אן שאל² אצפר בגמיע
מא תטלבה וסא יוסע ל[ך אל]² רוקך בהרא אתא
15 פאלך ונטק בך כברך ואל² [א]עלם ואחכם

יט

סהם אלנבי אלכצר יכ[תץ] בסעאדה ואלבשארה והו
סהם אלסרור ואלרפעה ואלכצר יכון בעידא פארא
דכרתה צאר קריבא וכאן עלי מקדמת דלקרני[ן]
20 פמר עלי עין אלחיה פצאר חי אלי יום אלקיאמה
ואראך איהו אלאנסאן פי קלבך חאגה ואנת בהא
מעני ונפסק אל . . ואנת אראך תתרגא כבר

2 recto.

קד[?]ך חדרה וארא לך ספרא חאצרא פסאפר
באן אלט[ר]יק לך קצירא ואלאמר יסירא גיר עסירא וספרך
הרא הו אברך ספר אן סאפרתה ואמורך נגיחה באן
פאלך נטיקא מקבלא פאבשר וטיב נפסא [פ]אני ארא לך
5 אתצאל עלי אלקדה אלחסן אלדכר יפוץ אליך אמרה וינאלך מן
קבלה כיר אן כתיר ותרוק עלי ראסה אלכיר ואלב[יכ]ה לדל[ך]
[ק]אל אלפאל איהו אלרגל אלסעיד צפרת במא תריד בה[רא אתא]
סהמן ונטק פאלך אן שאל²

ב

10 סהם אנבי זכריא יכבר באלחק אלוּאפיא והו סהם [אלב]ש[ארה]

ואלכיר אמא סמעת קול אלכתאב אלמונול עלי לסאן אלנב[י]

אלמרסל יא זכריא אן נבשרך בגלאם אסמה יחי לם

נגעל מן קבלה סמיא ואראך איהו אלאנסאן מגמום

אלקלב ציק אלצדר ואנת מ[ש]רף עלי אמר וארא לך

15 בשרא סא תבשר בהא ונ . . . ה סא [ת]ל[ק]אהא מן קול

אלכתאב וזכריא איד נדה[רבה נ]רא כפיא פכאן ואר[אך]

פי אמר סא תרש[ד] אליה פי . . . ל אלנאס מאניב ב . . .

מא יכון מן אלנוואב והודא טלבה לך פיה

צלחא ואמורך אלי ננאח וסער

20 עדו ידור חולך . . . יטלב

והו ינצר אליך שורה ואלכלמה

לסאנך פאכתם סרך ואחפין

אלא מא ת[ר]ידה מן בלוג האנתך

אלקרין אלסו לא תצאחבה פאנה ללמר שאין ו . . . [לא]

2 verso.

תגעל פי נפסך אלא כיר פאן אלא קריב יניך פרג אן כביר

אן שאל-

בא

5 סהם אלנבי [י]חי והו סהם אלבשרא וסעאדה ואלסרור ופיה

קאל יאיהו אלאנסאן כד אלכתאב בקוה וארא פי נפסך איהו

אלסאיל אמר סא יתמה אל- לך ולכן אנת לים תחתמל אלחדם

[ולא ת]פתר פי אלטלבה אלי רב אלעאלמין פאנה יגיבך פאבשר

פאנך סא יאתיך בשרא פי אסרע וקת ויעלו שאנך ויתם

10 אמר[ד] וינמו כברך ויחסן חאלך וידהב ענך חמך וגמך

וארא[ל]ך עמארה מנול סא תרוקה והרה אלסנה מן סנינך

ואל[ע]אם מן אעואמך ולכן אדאך מן אלסנה אלנאס ודלך

[א]נך תצאחב מן לא ישבהך ולא ידאניך ותתכלם בכל מא

יגרי עלי לסאנך ולים הדא בחמוד פאכתם סרך

15 [וא]חפין לסאנך תחמד אמורך ותבלג מרארך מן קצא

חואינך וקאל אלפאל אב . . . אכד אלקראח פאלך געל

ללכיר ואלננאח ואל- א[עלם] ואחכם

[ב]

סהם אלנבי א[יוב] יד[הב] . . אלהם ואלגם ען אלמכרוב והו
 20 סהם אלצר מ[א] סמעת קול אלכתאב אנא וגדנא
 [צאברא נעם אלעב] ד ואראך איהו אלסאיל פי
 ?
 ותתחניה ואנת ורבד הודא תתחניה ואנת
 ם באלאה תעמל אלשי בניר
 אמורך ולא תעגל פאנך

TRANSLATION.

1 recto. (1) . . . [It hath shown] thee¹ that there is a want in thy heart by which thou art troubled and unto which (2) . . . that Hūd (?)² will direct thy affairs properly, (3) and give thee thy proper share. He will bring thee into trouble, but he will also make thee expeditious, (4) and ward off from thee the attack of the jackal (?)³. He will pick up the words from thee (5) as the birds pick up food⁴.

¹ *أَرَاكَ* or *أَرَى لَكَ*, often followed by *فِي*, is a technical term which frequently occurs in our fragment. It is just as frequently to be found in the other books on divination.—The subject is “the lot.”

² Usually associated with ‘Eber, see Geiger, *Was hat Muhammed, &c.*, p. 113. The name also occurs in the list of the Cairo pamphlet. I am not certain, however, that *הודא* refers to this prophet, seeing that the same word appears in our fragment twice (2^{ro}, l. 18 and 2^{vo}, l. 22) as a combination of *הו* and *דא*.

³ This translation is more of the nature of an experiment. *איהעלב* can scarcely be anything but *التَّعَلَّبَ* “fox”; in the dialect of Egypt, jackal (see Lane, s. v.). *יכארי* I take as being the third conjugation of *خَتَأَ* or *خَتَأَ* 1. “empêcher quelqu’un de” (Bélot). The third form does not occur in the dictionaries, and Lane does not give the root at all.—*מכחלה* is probably *nomen actionis* of *ختل* 1. to attack unexpectedly, often used of wild beasts.

⁴ Comp. the Cairo booklet, p. 7, *يَلْتَقِطُ مَعَكَ مَنْ يَلْتَقِطُ*, *وَأَرَاكَ فِي أَمْرِ طَلَبْتَهُ وَمَعَكَ مَنْ يَلْتَقِطُ*, “It hath shown thee a thing which thou hast pursued, and there is with thee one who picketh up thy words as the birds pick up grain. Do not disclose thy secret to any one who will take hold of thee.” The idea of this phrase probably is that the auguring person will (or shall) be so reserved in his speech that the hearer will have to pick up his words one by one.—

But thou art the master of an ear⁵, believing everything (6) that is said unto thee to be true. Thy chest, however, feebleth narrow⁶ in the place in which thou (7) [sojournest]⁷, and thou thinkest of moving⁸ unto another place, different from (8) this. Rejoice at the annunciation of⁹ pleasantness of soul and coolness of eye¹⁰, of joy and relief. It hath (9) come unto thee. Thy pursuit is easy; thy luck favourable; thy star auspicious (10) with pleasantness of living. But Allah knoweth and judgeth best.

17. (12) *The lot of Idris*. This is a lot of elevation and eminence¹¹. It hath shown thee, [O] (13) inquirer, a man with whom¹² there is knowledge, a man of intellect and education¹³, (14) knowing the

In the Cairo pamphlet the sentence occurs in the lot of David, but this by no means signifies that it cannot be applied to any other prophet. Comp. the introduction.

⁵ The meaning probably is that he hears much, but talks little. Comp. the preceding note. The following sentence comes somewhat unexpectedly.

⁶ Narrowness of chest is a common metaphor in Arabic for anguish, distress. It also frequently occurs in the other augury books.

⁷ ן and ל are certain. The other letters are partly torn away and unrecognizable. I propose חאל from حال.

⁸ נלה = نَلَا, an infinitive form which also occurs in Brit. Mus. MS. fol. 82 b, and in Cairo, pp. 7, 13 and 16.

⁹ Comp. ابشّر بخير Lane, s. v. بشر I. بطيب = بطيب, see the introduction, p. 90.

¹⁰ A common Arabic metaphor for satisfaction and pleasure. The phrase رفعنا نفسا وقرعنا also occurs, spelt in the same way, in the Berlin MS. (Ahlwardt, No. 4239) at the end فطيب نفسا وقرعينا and Cairo, p. 3, رفعنا نفسا وقرعينا (sic) فطب, also pp. 9 and 10.

¹¹ Comp. Cairo, p. 3 (in the lot of Idris) وهو سهم الرفعة والعلو قال الله تعالى... ورفعناه مكانا عاليا ابشرا ايها السائل بالعلو والرفعة وعلو الشأن والإقبال "It is a lot of eminence and elevation. Allah—He is exalted—saith (Koran xix. 58): . . . 'And we raised him unto an eminent place.' Rejoice, O inquirer, at the annunciation of elevation and eminence, of high station, of good luck, felicity and auspicious constellation."

¹² The MS. clearly reads מן, which destroys the grammatical construction. I propose מנה. The man referred to is not the divining person himself, but one who will come to him.

¹³ This is probably suggested by the alleged scholarship of Idris-Henoch, see Geiger, *Was hat Muhammed, &c.*, p. 106, and Syez, *Ursprung und Wiedergabe der biblischen Eigennamen im Koran* (Frankfurt a-M., 1903), p. 32. See Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, 1903, p. 83.

things (that will happen). It hath shown thee eminence, gladness, and elevation, plenty (15) of sustenance, travelling, and good luck that will reach thee [from] a sovereign¹⁴. There will come unto thee (16) a man of high station. Thou wilt be preserved¹⁵ through a man travelling [unto thee ?]¹⁶, a man of power and influence, (17) from whom thou wilt receive benefits. Thy soul will be pleasant, thy living will largely increase, (18) people will guard thee, and thus terrible disasters will be averted from thee. This is (because thou art ?) (19) of agreeable speech and flattering tongue. Thou wilt take hold of¹⁷ thy affairs through tenderness (20) and affection. But it hath also shown thee a thing (regarding which) thy chest feeleth narrow, on account of which (21) thy soul is oppressed, through which trouble and sorrow will surely befall thee. Later, however, things will become easier for thee, (22) and thou wilt triumph over thy enemy¹⁸. Therefore, pursue what thou needest, for it is decreed, 1 verso. (1) and do not despair. Though thy pursuit last long, be patient, [for]¹⁹ . . . (2) joy and relief, if it pleaseth Allah.

18. (4) *The lot of Joshua*. This is the lot of (a sharp) eye, thought²⁰, faith²¹, elevation, triumph, (5) gladness, kindness, and generosity. Hast thou not heard what he (Allah) said: "When he said unto his

¹⁴ Comp. Cairo, p. 3 (under Idris) ويكون ذلك على يد رجل جليل القدر "This (good luck) will come through a man of great power and mighty spirit, and Allah will through him remove from thee grief and sorrow." The same booklet prophesies under Adam "a favour which will reach thee from a king of great power."

¹⁵ The MS. is not quite distinct. The word looks like הנח, but it could also be read החנ. I read and pronounce הִנָּח, passive of נָח = to guard, to preserve.

¹⁶ Of this obliterated word only ל can be traced. אליך is not impossible.

¹⁷ Traces suggest the reading האכר = תאخذ.

¹⁸ Comp. Cairo, p. 3 (under Idris) وَنَنْصُرْ عَلَى جَمِيعِ أَعْدَائِكَ "Thou wilt be helped against all thine enemies." The anguish at the beginning and the relief afterwards are probably suggested by the legendary history of Idris, who saw hell, was killed, but immediately afterwards revived, and finally triumphed over the Angel of Death. See Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, pp. 62 sq.

¹⁹ Something like "finally will reach thee" must be supplied.

²⁰ MS. אפער which can be either פִּקֵּר "thought," or פֶּחָר "glory." In the latter case אליין is to be translated "distinction"; comp. the phrase אעיאן הנאס "the chiefs of the people."

²¹ ואליין. Only very faint traces suggest this reading.

servant, (6) 'Our breakfast hath come unto us. Verily, we are fatigued with this our journey²².' It hath shown thee, (7) O man, a thing which is the only one that thou desirest, for which thou watchest²³ (8) in the night, and for which thou lengthenest thy day²⁴. It hath shown thee grave events. (9) [Thou hast] met with distress. Yet, thou wilt be saved with the permission of Allah. It hath shown thee an enemy (10) [who will surely turn away]²⁵ from thee. Guard thyself against him, for then thou wilt be spared his matter²⁶. (11) It hath also shown thee a journey which will be unto thee of mighty blessing, and will be unto thee (12) [of greater safety ?] than thou expectest. Good will come unto thee²⁷. Guard thyself against partnership, (13) for there is no luck for thee in it²⁸. But take pos-

²² This is a very ignorant quotation from Koran xviii. 61 *قَالَ لِفَتَاةٍ آتَيْنَا* "He (Moses) said unto his servant (Joshua): 'Let us have our breakfast. Verily, we are fatigued with this our journey.'" Instead of *نصبا* our MS. distinctly reads *نصبنا* which makes no sense. *אך* "when" at the beginning of the quotation is due to a confusion with v. 59 of the same chapter *وَأَذَى قَالَ مُوسَى لِفَتَاةٍ* "and when Moses said unto his servant." The last two words on l. 5 are quite indistinct. I read *לַמַּסָּחָה* and take it as an incorrect spelling of *لِفَتَاةٍ* (comp. the introduction, p. 89). It is also possible to read *לִי פַחַח* "when his servant said unto him," which, however, would still more pervert the whole quotation.—The Cairo pamphlet, p. 13 (under Joshua) quotes the same verse, but correctly.

²³ *סמך* is suggested by very faint traces.

²⁴ Comp. Cairo, p. 13 (under Joshua) *تَرِيدُ امْرَأًا وَقَدْ تَعَبْتَ فِيهِ وَثَرَّ هَمُّكَ* "Thou desirest a thing for which thou hast laboured. Thy anxiety is great and thy heart is occupied on account of it."

²⁵ Only the *ל* is certain. Traces and contents suggest *יול*. As there is room for two more letters before this word, I propose to read *סמך יול*. See the introduction, p. 89.

²⁶ i. e. to have anything to do with him.

²⁷ Similarly Cairo, p. 13 (under Joshua) *وَلَا بَدَّ لَكَ مِنْ ثِقَلَةٍ وَسَفَرٍ يَكُونُ* "Thou canst not avoid moving and travelling. There is good in it for thee." Travelling is also recommended by the lot of al-Khadhir in our MS. as well as in Cairo, p. 10 and Brit. Mus. fol. 83 a. See next note.

²⁸ Similarly Cairo, p. 13 (under Joshua) *غَيْرَ أَنِّي أَحَذَّرُكَ مِنَ الشَّرْكَةِ لَا تَقَرَّ* "Only I warn thee from partnership. Do not remain in it. There is no good for thee in it. I have forbidden it to thee." In Brit. Mus. fol. 83 partnership is warned

session, if it pleaseth Allah, of everything (14) that thou pursuest. Allah will surely grant thee ample sustenance. This was brought forward (15) by thy omen, and expressed by thy information. But Allah knoweth and judgeth best.

19. (17) *The lot of the prophet al-Khadhir*. It is [particularly distinguished]²⁹ by auspiciousness and good tidings. It is (18) a lot of gladness and eminence. Al-Khadhir is far away, but when (19) thou rememberest him, he becometh near³⁰. He was the chief of the vanguard of Du 'l-Karnein³¹, (20) and he passed by the fountain of life and became alive until the day of Resurrection³². (21) It hath shown thee, O man, a want in thy heart by which thou art (22) troubled and thy soul . . . It hath shown thee thyself hoping for information.

a recto. (1) . . . It hath also shown thee a journey which is imminent. Therefore travel, (2) inasmuch³³ as thy way will be short unto thee, the matter easy, not difficult, and this thy journey (3) will be the most blissful journey thou hast ever undertaken³⁴. Thy affairs will be lucky, inasmuch as thy omen is expressive and fortunate. Rejoice at the annunciation of pleasantness of soul, for it hath shown thee (5) a (lucky) constellation³⁵ on an arrow (lot) of beautiful remembrance. He (the prophet)³⁶ will deliver his matter unto thee, and (6) much good will reach thee through him. Thou wilt be granted in his presence³⁷ happiness and blessing. [Therefore] (7) the omen

against by the lot of al-Khadhir (see the introduction, p. 86). This as well as most of the preceding auguries are suggested by the legend of Moses' and Joshua's journey to al-Khadhir, see Koran xviii. 59 sq., and Weil, *Bibl. Legenden*, pp. 177 sq.

²⁹ This reading is suggested by the traces of the word and still more by the fact that the lot of al-Khadhir, both in Cairo and in the Brit. Mus., is of a *particularly* auspicious nature.

³⁰ The ubiquitous nature of this prophet (borrowed from the Rabbinical Elijah legend) is one of his chief characteristics in the later development of the Khadhir legend.

³¹ i.e. the Two-Horned, the Arabic (originally Syriac) epithet of Alexander the Great, see Nöldeke, *Beiträge zum Alexanderroman* (Wien, 1890), p. 32, n. 4 and p. 33.

³² Comp. Tabari, *Annales*, I, 414 and Tha'labi, *'Arâis* (Cairo, 1314 H.), p. 126.—The Cairo pamphlet, p. 10 (under al-Khadhir) alludes to the same legend.

³³ MS. reads *بأن*, though one would expect *بما*, comp. l. 3.

³⁴ *سَـبَّـرَ سَاقِرَتَهُ = اَبْرَكَ سَـبَّـرَ سَاقِرَتَهُ* (see the introduction, p. 89).—Al-Khadhir is especially known to assist travellers on their way.

³⁵ See Dozy, s. v. *وصل*.

³⁶ Possible is also: "it" (the lot).

³⁷ *رَأْسُهُ* "en sa présence, devant lui," Dozy, s. v. *رأس*.

saith: "O, thou fortunate man, seize whatever thou desirest. [This was brought forward]³⁸ (8) by thy lot and expressed by thy omen, if it pleaseth Allah.

20. (10) *The lot of the prophet Zakariyya*³⁹, announcing complete truth. It is a lot [of good tidings] (11) and happiness. Hast thou not heard the words of the Book, revealed through the tongue of the prophet (12) sent (as apostle)⁴⁰: "O Zakariyya, behold, we bring thee tidings of a son whose name shall be Yahya; we have not (13) caused any to bear the same name before him⁴¹". It hath shown thee, O man, one whose heart is afflicted, (14) and whose chest is narrow, while thou art vehemently eager for a certain thing. But it hath also shown thee (15) good news of which thou wilt surely be informed⁴², and . . . which thou wilt surely [meet ?] from the words (16) of the Book: "And Zakariyya when he called [upon his Lord invoking him] in secret⁴³, and it came to pass." It hath shown thee (17) a thing unto which thou wilt be guided rightly in (?) . . . of the people (?) what hath been brought (?) with (?) . . . (18) which will be as an answer. And this . . . search unto thee in which there is (19) fitness, and thy affairs (tend) toward felicity and auspiciousness . . . (20) an enemy turning around thee . . . he pursueth . . . (21) And he will display before thee a beautiful appearance and the word . . . (22) thy tongue. Therefore, conceal thy secret and keep . . . (23) with the exception of what thou desirest concerning the fulfilment of thy needs . . .

(1) the bad companion. Do not associate thyself with him, for he ² verse. is . . .⁴⁴ [Do not] (2) place into thy soul except good hopes, for in the

³⁸ Comp. 1^o, ll. 10 and 11.

³⁹ On Zakariyya (Zacharias) and his son Yahya (John), see Weil, *Bibl. Legenden*, pp. 281 sq.—These two prophets being nearly related, their "lots" partly resemble and even replace one another in the various augury books.

⁴⁰ Muhammedan theology distinguishes between *Anbiyā mursalūn* "prophets sent (as apostles)" who are founders of new forms of religion, e.g. Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammed, and *Anbiyā geir-mursalūn*, "prophets not sent (as apostles)" whose activity is more of a private nature, e.g. Lot, Job, al-Khadhir, &c., according to many theologians also Alexander the Great.

⁴¹ Koran xix. 7-8. מן קבלה is incorrect instead of مَنْ قَبِلَ.—On verse 9 see Sale, *Koran*, p. 227, note 1.

⁴² These predictions are derived from the legendary history of Zacharias, see Weil, l. c.

⁴³ Koran xix. 2 confounded with xxi. 89.

⁴⁴ The MS. has פאנה ללמר שין which I cannot make out. The form שׂינ does not occur in the dictionaries. Perhaps: "for he has set his mind on bitter (things)."

nearest future⁴⁵ great relief will come unto thee, (3) if it pleaseth Allah.

21. (5) *The lot of the prophet Yahya*. It is a lot of good tidings, of auspiciousness, and gladness. Concerning him (6) he (Allah) said: "O thou man, accept the Book with firmness!"⁴⁶ It hath shown in thy soul, O (7) inquirer, an affair which Allah will surely complete for thee. Thou, however, do not suffer rashness⁴⁷. (8) [And do not get tired] of making supplication unto the Lord of all created Beings, for he will give thee an answer. Rejoice, then, (9) for good news will surely reach thee at the earliest moment. Thy station will be elevated, thy affair will be completed, (10) thy renown will increase, thy position will become beautiful, thy grief and thy sorrow will go away from thee⁴⁸. (11) It hath shown thee a flourishing habitation which thou wilt surely be granted. And this year (is the best?) of thy years (12) and this season (is the best?) of thy seasons⁴⁹. But it (the year or the lot?) hath injured thee through the tongues of men, and this (13) because thou associatest thyself with men who do not resemble thee, nor are nearly related to thee, and thou speakest out everything that (14) runneth on thy tongue, —this is not praiseworthy. Therefore conceal thy secret (15) and keep thy tongue⁵⁰. Thou wilt find thy matters praiseworthy, and attain what thou desirest concerning the execution (16) of thy affairs. The omen hath spoken . . . [He hath] taken the arrows (lots). Thy omen hath turned (it)⁵¹ (17) unto happiness and felicity. But Allah [knoweth] and judgeth best.

⁴⁵ I am not sure whether *אלא קריב* is an incorrect spelling for the elative *الأقرب* or means *إلا قريب* which seems to me to be a rather vulgar construction.

⁴⁶ Koran xix. 13. *أخذوا ألامساخ* is an incorrect quotation instead of *يا يحيى* "O Yahya!"—Cairo, p. 6 (under Yahya) quotes the same verse correctly.

⁴⁷ I read *אלחזק* from *חזק* i. to be quick.

⁴⁸ The latter phrase comes again 2^{vo}, l. 19. It occurs in the Cairo pamphlet almost in every lot.

⁴⁹ Comp. Cairo, p. 11 (under Zakariyya) *فهذا العام من أبرك الأعوام* "this year is one of the most blissful years."

⁵⁰ Comp. Cairo, p. 6 (under Yahya) *ولا تُفشي سركَ فَمَنْ كَتَمَ سِرَّهُ ملك* "Do not disclose thy secret, for he who conceals his secret governs his affairs. But if one discloses his secret, sorrow enters his bosom." The same advice, almost in the same words, is given in the lot of David.

⁵¹ Or "hath been turned." The translation and construction of the whole line is merely problematic.

[2]2. (19) *The lot of the prophet* [*Ayyûb* ⁵³ removing] ⁵³ . . . grief and sorrow from the afflicted. It is (20) a lot of evil ⁵⁴ . . . Hast thou not heard the words of the Book : "Behold, we found (21) . . . [a patient person ; how excellent a servant was he !] ⁵⁵." It hath shown thee, O inquirer, regarding (22) . . . and skill (?) ⁵⁶. Behold, thou delayest it till the right moment. And thou (23) . . . Thou doest the thing without (24) . . . [in] thy affairs, for thou

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⁵² Of the whole name only א is left. It cannot be אדם which would stand at the beginning. אברהם and אסמעיל are too large for the gap. אליאם and אליסע are impossible, because א and ל are always written jointly. The only names which are graphically possible are אסחק and איוב. The contents decidedly favour the latter.

⁵³ Comp. line 10. Between this and the following word there is room for about two letters which I cannot make out.

⁵⁴ Comp. Koran xxi. 83 where Job says : إني مسني الضر "Behold, evil hath afflicted me."

⁵⁵ Koran xxxviii. 43-44. وجدناه is incorrect instead of وجدناه. The ו and a trace of the ב in איעבר are still recognizable. Before the words enclosed in brackets there is still room for about four or five letters, which must have contained the object to יורנא, something like איאה, איוב, or עברנא.

⁵⁶ رِيَدَ to be skilful.